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A native village stands nearby, its banana groves bordering on the thickets. Its occupants are in charge of watching over the cemetery, which according to the opinion of the Banya-Nduga (inhabitants of the Nduga province) includes the tomb of Ruganzu II Ndori. Those who claim that his body was buried at Rutare cling to their opinion and insist that he was merely "smoked" at Mayebe. The inhabitants of the latter area, on the other hand, claim in turn that after having been mummified he was indeed buried right there, and add that this is the usual procedure. The place is quite commonly *known by the name of "Ruganzu's cemetery."*

According to the same interpretation, this prince alone was buried there.

Not far from Mayebe, two other small groves made up chiefly of ficus trees stand barely 300 meters apart. /529/ According to some, the corpses of several queens by the name of Nyirakigeri and Nyirayuhi were mummified there. Local people insist that they were also buried there, and support their claim by adding that the place where a king or queen is smoked is also the place where they are buried. The two clumps of trees formerly made up a single sacred grove, and this is why the natives call them by the same name.

The last of those cemeteries stands two kilometers farther. It is made up of handsome ficus trees, but the same controversies arise concerning the use to which this funeral site was put. It is called "the cemetery of the queens who bore the name of Nyiramavugo."

[123] It is not easy to give precise information on this subject. The keepers of the groves, the undertakers (abanyamugogo), and the official chroniclers (Abachur' ubgenge) are not willing to surrender all their information on the subject. The statements of other people are unreliable.

Funerary enclosures called ilaro (amalaro in the plural), or "night stopping places," are also found in the area.

They mark the sites of huts which served as shelters for the mortal remains of kings and queens in transit to the cemeteries.

The dwellings had to be abandoned after their visit, just as happens when a prince travelling through his realm stops for the night.

438 often set out on journeys lasting several days to visit customers
484 and distant markets. They handle the trade between Mulera, Nduga, and Katana on Lake Edward, and their chief items of exchange are sheep and goats, iron, salt, and tobacco. The Bagoye handle trade between Bugoye and Bunyabungu and exchange large quantities of hoes for goats from Mulera.

●123 The Bagoye are unprejudiced traders. For example, when they saw me collecting skulls there, they brought me some to buy. However, no one had the courage to touch a skull. They carried it either on a stick or wrapped in a banana leaf. It was a boy of eleven who first had the idea of demanding payment for skulls. Others followed, even adults, when they saw that the boy was well paid. In a short time they brought in over 200 skulls.

We must point out, however, that not everyone was enthusiastic about these transactions. After more careful investigation, it was discovered that all the skull collectors were people of the lower classes. They were bagaragu (1) of the others and orphans

1. Clients.

who had been taken into individual households as semi-slaves.
[626] After a few days, however, skull collecting stopped altogether, since the boys of the mission refused to eat with anyone who had collected skulls. When this news spread, I could not get any more skulls, and the last collector was thrashed.

The people were very much interested in knowing how much was paid for skulls in Europe.

567 Even today it is said that human beings are exported from Ruanda, not as voluntary emigrants and transient workers, but as slaves. I could find out little about this obscure problem. Since wives [164] are bought, it is very difficult to draw the line between a purchased slave and a purchased wife. In Kissaka the story goes that the Bassuwi come in large numbers to buy women and that they stay in Lukira. They are also said to re-sell the women in Tabora.

Dr. Kandt (1) says that there is a regular slave trade in the

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 435.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

[5]For the most part, what is here said of Burundi was true also of the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda. Significant differences will be footnoted. For the hierarchical principle in Ruanda, see: J. J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Ethnologie, vol. I, 1954.

[6]Burundi is changing its laws. Thus, women and other social inferiors increasingly enjoy legal privileges and rights.

[7]In Ruanda, the queen-mother shared the royal power with her son, the *mwami*. This was not the case in Burundi.

[8]Very little will be said about religion in Burundi. The cult of Kiranga, the ancestor cult, and every other aspect of traditional religion and belief have been legally suppressed. About one-third of the population have been converted to Christianity. Religion, traditional and contemporary, is always important in the life of a society, but it may be concluded from the behaviour, the interests and the values of the Rundi that their society is secular rather than sacred.

[9]The word "caste" is not entirely satisfactory for describing the social distinctions of Burundi. However, there does not seem to be any better translation for the term, *ubuko*, which connotes racial differences and to which are attached taboos and marriage regulations which separate rather rigidly these divisions of Rundi society.

[1]Although the terms "Hamitic" and "Bantu" are, properly speaking, linguistic terms, they will be used here, for lack of anything better, in their common acceptation as referring to social-cultural groups.

[2]In Ruanda, the Twa are more respected than the Hutu. Moreover, caste distinctions in Ruanda are social rather than racial. *Cf.* J. J. Maquet, *op. cit.*

[3]When the *mwami* of Ruanda gave a Tutsi wife to a man of an inferior caste, he raised the man to the higher caste.

[4]*Cf.* Jean Hiernaux, *Analyse de la Variation des Caractères physiques humains en une Région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu*. Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Anthropologie, vol. 3, 1956.

[5]Since 1952, polygamy is no longer permitted. Nevertheless, there are still a good many plural marriages. In the past, a prince might easily have had 20 wives. The average Rundi, however, would not have been wealthy enough to pay for more than two or three.

[6]These taboos are not known in Ruanda.

[7]The Hutu husband is obliged to build and to make repairs on the house, to take care of the banana grove that encircles the homestead, and to brew banana beer.

[8]In the past, there was only one harvest each year. There are now two, but the second one is relatively light.

[9]Almost nothing is known about the Twa, except that the men go to the marshes for the clay needed by the women to make pots and then sell them. The work in the fields is done by the women, but it appears that the men are often home and help.

[10]It has been suggested that anaemia explains the physiological condition interpreted by the Rundi as a prolonged pregnancy.

[1]Blinded by the ideas of my own culture about men's interest in their children's paternity, I wasted a great deal of time in the field seeking confirmation from Hutu and Tutsi, the Europeanized and the traditional. I was finally convinced of the lack of interest in biological paternity. This is, in any case, in keeping with the rather liberal rules pertaining to sexual relations in the kinship system.

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